

Message Text

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C O N F I D E N T I A L EC BRUSSELS 101

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, EEC, UN

SUBJECT: ORGANIZING FOR MULTILATERAL DIPLOMACY

REF: STATE 303856, USUN 6963, USNATO 7062

1. SUMMARY. ONE OF THE GROWTH AREAS IN THE EC IS MULTILATERAL DIPLOMACY. BECAUSE "POLITICAL COOPERATION" AND, WHERE POSSIBLE, THE DEVELOPMENT OF COMMON POSITIONS IN INTERNATIONAL BODIES SEEMS TO BE A RELATIVELY EASY AND CONVENIENT WAY TO DEMONSTRATE THE COMMUNITY SPIRIT (WITH THE OUTSTANDING RECENT EXCEPTION OF BRITAIN'S MISTAKE IN SEEKING A SEPARATE SEAT AT THE CIEC), THE NINE MEMBER STATES INCREASINGLY SUPPORT THE IDEA OF SPEAKING WITH A SINGLE EC VOICE IN INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS. IN PURSUING THE WORTHY OBJECTIVES LAID OUT IN STATE 303856 WE SHOULD KEEP THIS DEVELOPMENT IN MIND AND FACTOR INTO OUR PROGRAM THE POSSIBILITIES OF THE PRESENT (OR AN EXPANDED) SYSTEM OF US/EC CONSULTATIONS. END SUMMARY.

2. THE EC-NINE ARE TAKING COMMON POSITIONS WITH GREATER REGULARITY AND ARE MAKING INCREASING USE OF THE PRESIDENCY COUNTRY AND/OR
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THE COMMISSION AS SPOKESMAN FOR THE NINE IN INTERNATIONAL

MEETINGS. BROAD LINES OF POLICY ARE FREQUENTLY DISCUSSED BY EC FOREIGN MINISTERS OR POLITICAL DIRECTORS. REGULAR ON-THE-SPOT CONSULTATIONS TAKE PLACE IN NEW YORK (SEE USUN 6963) AND ELSEWHERE. THE RESULT HAS BEEN A GROWING, IF NOT YET COMPLETE, COHESIVENESS IN POSITIONS TAKEN BY THE MEMBER STATES WHICH HAS GIVEN ADDED WEIGHT TO THEIR VIEWS. THE NINE WORKED TOGETHER EFFECTIVELY AT THE SEVENTH SPECIAL SESSION OF THE UNGA AND AT OTHER INTERNATIONAL MEETINGS SUCH AS THE CSCE AND THE LAW OF THE SEA CONFERENCE. IN TERMS OF SUBSTANTIVE ISSUES, RECENT EXAMPLES OF EC EFFORTS INCLUDE THEIR ATTEMPTS TO FORMULATE A COMMON POLICY ON THE ZIONISM-RACISM ISSUE AT UNESCO AND OTHER UN BODIES AND THE PREPARATION OF JOINT EC-NINE DEMARCHE ON NAMIBIA. EVEN IN THOSE INSTANCES WHERE THEY CANNOT AGREE ON A COMMON POSITION, THEY STILL USE THE CAUCUS OF THE NINE AS AN INSTRUMENT TO DEBATE STRATEGY AND TACTICS AMONG THEMSELVES.

3. IN ITS SEARCH FOR COMMON POLICIES, THE COMMUNITY'S EFFORT SPANS A WIDENING SPECTRUM OF SUBJECTS WHICH INVOLVE DIFFERENT INSTITUTIONAL COMPETENCES. AT ONE END ARE MATTERS (EG ZIONISM/RACISM) WHICH ARE PURELY POLITICAL AND ARE THE RESPONSIBILITY OF THE POLITICAL DIRECTORS FROM CAPITALS OR MEMBER STATE AMBASSADORS IN THE FIELD. AT THE OTHER EXTREME ARE THOSE ISSUES WHICH ARE EITHER ASSIGNED DIRECTLY TO THE COMMISSION BY THE ROME TREATY (EG, COMMERCIAL POLICY) OR IN WHICH THE COUNCIL HAS AGREED TO GIVE THE COMMISSION LEAD ROLE (EG, AID TO PORTUGAL). IN BETWEEN IS A LARGE AREA OF OVERLAPPING COMPETENCES IN WHICH BOTH THE COMMISSION AND THE PRESIDENCY COUNTRY SHARE OPERATIONAL RESPONSIBILITIES (EG, CIEC AND THE EURO-ARAB DIALOGUE). TO TAKE MAXIMUM ADVANTAGE OF THE OPPORTUNITIES TO INFLUENCE COMMUNITY AND MEMBER STATE POLICIES IN MULTILATERAL DIPLOMACY, WE SHOULD DESIGN AND USE CONSULTATIVE ARRANGEMENTS WHICH FIT BOTH THE REQUIREMENTS OF THE ISSUE IN QUESTION AS WELL AS THE INSTITUTIONAL COMPETENCE SITUATION AS IT HAS EVOLVED WITHIN THE EC.

4. ONE EXISTING MECHANISM FOR FURTHERING OUR MULTILATERAL DIPLOMACY OBJECTIVES WITH THE EC-NINE IS THE "POLITICAL COOPERATION" CHANNEL BASED ON THE GYMnich DECISION TO IMPROVE US/EC EXCHANGES ON FOREIGN POLICY ISSUES. THE MORE SUBSTANCE WE PUT INTO THIS CHANNEL, BACKED UP WHEN APPROPRIATE BY DEMARCHES IN THE MEMBER STATE CAPITALS, THE MORE VALUABLE POLITICAL COOPERATION

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CONSULTATIONS WILL BE. THE EFFECTIVENESS OF THIS CONSULATATION PROCESS DEPENDS TO AN IMPORTANT EXTENT ON THE TIMELINESS OF OUR INPUT AND THE EXTENT TO WHICH WE CAN ACHIEVE A GENUINE TWO-WAY FLOW.

5. APPORACHES TO THE EC PRESIDENCY SHOULD BE PARALLELED IN MOST CASES BY DISCUSSION WITH THE EC COMMISSION. THE COMMISSION IS INCREASINGLY INVOLVED IN ISSUES RAISED AT THE UN AND HAS A

PROFESSIONAL-LEVEL STAFF MEMBER STATIONED IN NEW YORK WHO, WE UNDERSTAND, PARTICIPATES IN THE EC-NINE CAUCUS IN ADDITION TO SERVING AS THE OFFICIAL EC OBSERVER. COMMISSION OFFICIALS PARTICIPATE IN POLITICAL DIRECTORS' MEETINGS AND IN THE POLITICAL COOPERATION MEETINGS OF THE EC-NINE FOREIGN MINISTERS, EVEN WHEN THE ISSUES UNDER DISCUSSION ARE PURELY POLITICAL.

6. WE SEE TWO POSSIBILITIES FOR IMPROVING OUR DIALOG WITH THE EC ON MULTILATERAL MATTERS. FIRST, THE TIME MAY BE RIPE FOR REVIVING THE IDEA OF A "REINFORCED" POLITICAL CONSULTATION. IN THE SECOND HALF ON 1974 (WHEN FRANCE HELD THE PRSIDENCY), OUR SUGGESTION FOR A MEETING BETWEEN THE EC POLITICAL DIRECTORS AND EQUIVALENT US OFFICIALS WAS TURNED DOWN BY THE FRENCH AS "INAPPROPRIATE". WITH THE PASSAGE OF TIME AND THE IMPROVED CLIMATE IN OVERALL US-EC RELATIONS, THIS USEFUL NOTION MIGHT BE TRIED AGAIN UNDER THE CURRENT LUXEMBOURG PRESIDENCY. PERHAPS THORN'S EXPERIENCE AT THE UN WILL MAKE HIM RECEPTIVE TO SUCH AN APPROACH.

7. THE SECOND SUGGESTION IS TO EXPAND THE GROWING RANGE OF US-EC COMMISSION CONSULTATIONS TO INCLUDE AN AD HOC MEETING ON COOPERATION IN INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS, WITH PARTICULAR EMPHASIS ON THE UN. WE NOW HAVE A NUMBER OF PRECEDENTS (IN ADDITION TO THE REGULAR ACROSS-THE-BOARD SEMI-ANNUAL MEETINGS) FOR AD HOC US-EC COMMISSION CONSULTATIONS--EG SESSIONS WITH DENT ON TRADE NEGOTIATION MANAGEMENT; MEETINGS WITH TRAIN AND HERTER ON ENVIRONMENTAL QUESTIONS; EXCHANGES ON SONSUMER ISSUES. THERE IS ALSO A GOOD RECORD OF COORDINATION WITH THE EC COMMISSION ON NORTH-SOUTH ISSUES (WHERE AUTHORITY IS SHARED BETWEEN THE MEMBER STATES AND THE COMMISSION) AS EXEMPLIFIED BY THE CLOSE WORKING RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN UNDER SECRETARY ROBINSON AND DIRECTOR GENERAL WELLENSTEIN AT CIEC PREPCONS I AND II. BUILDING ON THESE PRECEDENTS, WE MIGHT SUGGEST AN AD HOC MEETING BETWEEN THE APPROPRIATE COMMISSION AND US OFFICIALS TO DISCUSS THE ISSUES

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RAISED IN STATE 303856.

8. THE FORMAT AND TIMING FOR THE CONSULTATIONS SUGGESTED ABOVE WITH THE EC POLITICAL DIRECTORS AND THE EC COMMISSION WOULD DEPEND ON OUR OBJECTIVES. THEY COULD BE SET UP AS A POST-MORTEM AND FORWARD-LOOK PLANNING SESSIONS AS PROPOSED FOR NATO OR THEY COULD DEAL WITH A SPECIFIC ISSUE OR SERIES OF ISSUES. THEY COULD BE HELD IN CONNECTION WITH UNGA MEETINGS OR MEETINGS OF OTHER INTERNATIONAL BODIES. IN ANY EVENT, IF THESE AD HOC SESSIONS WERE HELD AT A SUFFICIENTLY SENIOR LEVEL AND TIMED TO TAKE ACCOUNT OF THE EC DECISION-MAKING PROCESS, THEY COULD BE AN EFFECTIVE MEANS OF MOBILIZING COMMUNITY SUPPORT FOR OUR VIEWS, OR AT LEAST BRINGING OUR VIEWS TO BEAR ON THE COMMISSION AND MEMBER STATES BEFORE THEY TAKE FINAL POSITIONS IN EC-NINE CAUCUS.

9. SINCE RESPONSIBILITY FOR MULTILATERAL ISSUES IS SHARED BY
ALL OFFICERS IN THIS MISSION, WE PERCEIVE NO NEED TO DESIGNATE
ANY SINGLE OFFICER WITH SOLE RESPONSIBILITY FOR MULTILATERAL
OR UN AFFAIRS. GREENWALD

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